SETTLING IN

857 other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

361 Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars,
133 willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

133 She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

132 It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

157 The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

157 them in the fields and ask what they were at, and why, and what their various implements were called. They were quick to understand what we tried to say, and except when several of them talked at once we could usually make out most of their replies. They often started amusing arguments among themselves, not agreeing about certain words, just as at home you can set a discussion going in any company about "apple dumplings" or "pies."

243 I had a most entertaining half-hour my second afternoon.
123 Some women and little girls were beating a pile of green stuff on the threshing-floor just below, whacking it with a sort of wooden mallet. So I ran out (with pencil and notebook), greeted them, and sat down beside them on the nice dry ground and watched the whole performance. The crop was a small lentil or purple pea, and the heap was a pile of plants, stalks, roots, pods and all. They just beat and beat till all the pods had burst open, then piled pods and seeds into a big sieve and tossed it till most of the seeds were shaken out. Next they transferred it into a big flat tray and shook it to and fro till they could skim the pods off the top. Everyone was taking a hand, and after I had jotted down all the words I could conveniently collect, I took the various articles in turn and caused much amusement by saying carefully: "This is a sieve, I toss the lentils," "This is a tray, I shake it to and fro," etc. I felt rather like a star turn at a variety show, and brought down the house at the end with: "This is a little thorn bush, I sweep up the threshing-floor."

123 It is a sort of improved Berlitz method of teaching yourself. I found that when my Burushaski ran out I could still delight them by chattering on in English in a friendly way. They felt the goodwill, and they didn't know I was saying: "You're a nice-looking little minx, but you'll look better when you wash your face." I got most of their names written down, and then when they began to get ready to go home I had a romp with the small ones, who ran off squealing when I tried to catch them, just like English kiddies of the same age. I hadn't had such fun since our own youngster was small enough to romp with.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some interesting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly symbolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157 ●

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

St Lorimer L-S (1929-9, 1934-5) 1938 AVT Burusho AVT

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shins of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and military ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shins villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching acrimonious and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·125	14·933	10·422	78·084	5′ 6$\frac{1}{16}$″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·586	73·424	5′ 5$\frac{1}{4}$″
Yasin . .	78	19·085	14·799	10·413	77·714	5′ 6$\frac{3}{16}$″
Gilgit . .	40	19·262	14·493	10·075	74·981	5′ 4$\frac{15}{16}$″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ 5$\frac{1}{4}$″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·296	5′ 5$\frac{1}{16}$″
Kuh-Ghizr	19	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ 5$\frac{11}{16}$″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the antero-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records, and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth, would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burushe; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unexpected causes.

692 Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kaḍako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Thum's Audience Assembly (Thamo marukz). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Thum, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every Ahom in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Thum has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputations or factious matters.

Character.

• 167 Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzukuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

ecc For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

3: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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423 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

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584 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

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123 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and Mim sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a romantic, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

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157 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wartikwar). That language is spoken only in the Werchigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

These men were carrying water from the holy of holies—the Ganges. They were intoxicated—not with wine, but with their faith. They were excited with the mysticism of their god; they were inspired; they were in seventh heaven. Yes, the gait of these divinely influenced people was close to the pace followed by the people of Hunza.

If I had seen somewhere along in my travels a Hunzan who slouched, dragged himself or in some other way showed a sign of weakness or debility, I would say so, but no such Hunzan did I see.

I fully realize that I scoffed at my Hunzan bearer that the Mir sent along with me from Kerimabad to Nomal, especially when he wanted to take the horses back from Chalt and leave us because he said he had blisters on his feet, due to the exceptionally hard push we had made that day, but remember, he was 20 years older than I! His feet probably told his age but he certainly didn't look it.

If there are sick and infirm men in Hunza, they must be exceptionally well-hidden, because I didn't see or find any.

Then, too, writers and observers of the people of Hunza always mention and stress the fact that they are a happy pleasant people. To this I must also assent. I did not see a sad or disgruntled Hunzan. I do not mean to suggest that they ran about the streets giggling and laughing, but they were of cheery, amiable countenance. Here I am going beyond those with whom I walked and talked and ate; I am delving into the citizenry that I passed on the roads or streets, those whose farms and homes we visited and also those whom I observed in passing.

Let me here illustrate another point. For example, it is understandable that we here in America, or people

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land.

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis.

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone.

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand.

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I

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7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that he might get during the year would come from the expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents are always at home. Further, the children do their share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken